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ABSTRACT

The purposes of this study were to determine opinions and attitudes of selected Head Start trainees toward poverty, prejudice and disadvantaged families, and whether attitudes differed among trainees. The 62 subjects were trainees (ranging in age from 19 to 69 years) who attended one of three 8-week training sessions conducted by the Department of Family and Child Development at Kansas State University in 1966. Data sources were an information checklist, and attitude scale, and opinions expressed in an essay and in informal group discussions. Study findings showed that the Head Start trainees' opinions about poverty, prejudice and disadvantaged families varied widely. Race, education and occupation appeared to be the most important indicators of these opinions and attitudes. This study points out the need for training staff personnel to understand and accept opinions and attitudes of trainees who participate in programs sponsored by the Office of Economic Opportunity. In order to effectively teach, the training personnel need to help trainees start where they are in the learning process. (Author/HK)

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OPINIONS AND ATTITUDES OF HEAD START TRAINEES
TOWARD POVERTY AND PREJUDICE

Project No. CG-9836

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CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

The Economic Opportunity Act of 1964 was designed to combat poverty in the United States. The philosophy behind the act was that every individual should have the opportunity to contribute and participate to the full extent of his capabilities in order for a society to achieve its full economic and social potential.

The Office of Economic Opportunity (OEO) was established as the administrative body for the many programs and services provided for in the Economic Opportunity Act of 1964. Various administrative adjustments have been made since that time which have no direct bearing on this report.

Title II-A of the Economic Opportunity Act encouraged the establishment of Community Action Programs (CAP) in local communities and provided financial and professional assistance to them. These programs were designed to provide help on Indian Reservations, aid migrant workers, and assist urban and rural communities combat poverty by providing stimulation and incentives to mobilize their resources. These CAP programs provided a coordinated network of positive approaches to fight illiteracy, unemployment, poor health, and poor housing. Included in the CAP programs were the areas of early childhood development, remedial education, literacy courses, job development and training, day care, homemaker services, community organization, legal aid to the poor, and health services.

One phase of the CAP program, early childhood development (Head Start), provided up to 90 per cent federal financing to communities who organized and operated preschool child development centers. The goal of these centers was to create an environment which would enable children of the economically disadvantaged to more nearly reach their full potential. In addition to preschool experiences, Head Start provided diagnostic, remedial and developmental services including health, social and psychological assistance. It also included a parent education component and stressed the necessity of involving parents in both operation and policy making decisions.

The role of the Community Development Center was described by the planning committee for Head Start as follows:

The Child Development Center is both a concept and a community facility. In concept it represents the drawing together of all those resources--family, community and professional--which can contribute to the child's total development. It draws heavily on the professional skills of persons in nutrition, health, education, psychology, social work and recreation. It recognizes both paid and volunteer non-professionals can make important contributions. Finally, the concept emphasizes the family is fundamental to the child's development. Parents should play an important role in developing policies; will work in the Centers and participate in the programs (OEO, 1965a, p. 1).

Although the needs of all children are basically the same, children of the poor lack many experiences and learning opportunities which are a natural part of the average American child's environment. Therefore, there is strong need for the teachers and staff working with Head Start children not only to understand preschool children, but their cultural background and special needs.

Since teachers and teacher's aides are key adults in the daily lives of children in Head Start Child Development Centers, the teacher and her aides strongly influence the quality of learning and total

growth experiences children have in Head Start. Head Start personnel need special training to make their individual frames of reference relevant to their work in poverty areas. OEO granted funds to certain universities in each of its seven regions to conduct eight-week training programs to help Head Start personnel supplement their training in general preschool education and familiarize them with particular learning needs of disadvantaged children.

Kansas State University received an OEO grant* to conduct three eight-week training programs in early childhood development in January, 1966. These three training programs began in February and ended in early August. Sixty-two trainees were involved in the three sessions. The training programs, conducted by the Department of Family and Child Development, included a study of early childhood development and behavior, curriculum and program planning for young children, exploration of the culture of poverty, and a seminar on coordination of community resources for family development.

Each training session was designed to provide trainees at various educational levels with a course of study and range of experiences that would equip them with knowledge and skills for their specific Child Development Center jobs. These positions ranged from teacher and staff aides to program administrators.

Although specific research designs were not required until the following year, data were collected during the 1966 training sessions for the specific purpose of evaluating the sessions and analyzing some

*OEO Program Number CG-9836 under Title II-A of the Economic Opportunity Act of 1964.

aspects of the program. One Master's thesis dealing with the attitudes and opinions of the trainees toward children (Sukan, 1967) was completed using data obtained from weekly unstructured discussion groups. Other data available included a personal data sheet, an essay entitled "What I Know About Low Income Families" and an attitude scale developed for Head Start workers.

The purposes of this study were to ascertain: (1) whether there were differing opinions and attitudes toward poverty and prejudice among Head Start trainees, and (2) the attitudes toward poverty, prejudice and disadvantaged families of those employed as Head Start personnel or who expected to be employed in a Head Start program.

The objectives of the study were:

1. To identify opinions and attitudes of Head Start trainees toward poverty and prejudice expressed in an essay, informal group discussions and on an attitude scale.
2. To compare opinions and attitudes toward poverty and prejudice of Head Start trainees who differ in race, marital status, education, occupation, and age.
3. To analyze Head Start trainees' opinions and attitudes about poverty and prejudice as expressed in informal group discussions, an essay, and on an attitude scale.

The following null hypotheses were tested:

1. There is no relationship between the amount of participation on the topic "Reactions to Selected Conditions" in the informal group discussions and the five independent variables:

- a. race
 - b. marital status
 - c. education
 - d. occupation
 - e. age
- 2. There is no relationship between awareness of prejudice as revealed on the topic "Reactions to Selected Conditions" in the discussion groups and the five independent variables:
 - a. race
 - b. marital status
 - c. education
 - d. occupation
 - e. age
- 3. In a written essay "What I Know About Low Income Families," there is no relationship between reference to poverty in:
 - a. childhood
 - b. present personal conditions
 - c. present or past personal acquaintances
 - d. unknown or generalized others
 and the five independent variables:
 - 1. race
 - 2. marital status
 - 3. education
 - 4. occupation
 - 5. age
- 4. There is no relationship between the qualitative-quantitative aspects of poverty expressed in the essay "What I Know About Low Income Families" and the five independent variables:
 - a. race
 - b. marital status
 - c. education
 - d. occupation
 - e. age
- 5. There is no relationship between attitude scores attained on the Operation Head Start Worker's Attitude Scale and

the five independent variables:

- a. race
- b. marital status
- c. education
- d. occupation
- e. age

This chapter provides a brief historical background of the Head Start program. The purposes of the study, its objectives and hypotheses suggest a need to clarify the major concepts and review studies dealing with the opinions and attitudes of people toward disadvantaged families and the effects of special training on attitude change for those working with disadvantaged families.

CHAPTER II

REVIEW OF LITERATURE

The concepts of attitudes, opinions, prejudice, low-income, poverty and disadvantaged used throughout this paper are briefly defined. A short discussion of some theoretical considerations dealing with these concepts is included to provide reader background. A review of studies dealing with attitudes revealed the dearth of information available concerning opinions and attitudes of people toward the disadvantaged and a lack of adequate methods in determining these attitudes. The review of literature has been presented in two parts. The first part deals with attitudes, mostly of teachers, toward disadvantaged children. The second part is concerned with teacher attitudes toward the disadvantaged following training sessions designed to initiate attitude change.

Definition of Concepts

Attitudes

Allport (1958), one of the leading contributors to the study of attitudes, defined attitudes as "mental and neural states of readiness, organized through experience, exerting a directive or dynamic influence upon the individual's response to all objects and situations with which it is related" (Allport, 1958, p. 23). Krech, Crutchfield and Ballachey (1962) suggested that attitudes include positive or negative evaluations, emotional feelings and action tendencies with regard to a given object.

Rokeach's (1968) more complete definition stated that attitudes are interrelated beliefs built upon life's experiences which describe, evaluate, and advocate action tendencies toward an object or situation. He thought each belief has cognitive, affective and behavioral components.

Opinions

Doby (1966) differentiated opinions from attitudes. He believed opinions or beliefs are wholly cognitive and lack the affective or emotional element common to attitudes. Rokeach (1968) described opinions as verbal expressions of a belief, attitude or value. Opinions may represent public beliefs, attitudes or values or they may refer to an individual's tentative set of beliefs, attitudes or values. Cooper and McGough (1966) suggested opinions are tentative and play an important role in the thought process because they represent continual cognitive exploration and summaries.

Prejudice

Several authors have attempted to define prejudice. Krech, Crutchfield and Ballachey (1962) described prejudice as emotionally charged, unfavorable attitudes usually resulting from previous stereotypes which are not easily changed. Doby's (1966) definition was similar, but he thought the emotional involvement could be either for or against the object. Hurlock (1964) believed prejudice is the result of a set of attitudes which causes the classifying of those who belong to groups outside one's own as inferior and treatment of them accordingly.

Low Income, Poverty, and Disadvantaged

The concepts low income, poverty, and disadvantaged are commonly

used interchangeably and have not been clearly defined. The OEO definition used by the Head Start program is based entirely on economic deprivation. The fact that economically deprived people may have advantages is not considered in this purely economic definition.

According to Noar (1967), poverty often exists among disadvantaged families characterized by chronically unemployed or unemployable fathers, or one-parent homes frequently mother-dominated. They are city slum-dwellers, rural uneducated farmhands, and migrants. Disadvantaged families are represented by lowest social class Negroes, Puerto Ricans, American Indians, Mexican Americans and Caucasians. "Children in these families have too little of everything: too little living space, too little food and sleep, too little personal attention, too little medical and nursing care when sick and too little information about themselves and their world, too little curiosity, too little success, too little self-respect and self-confidence, too little reason to try, too little money and clothing, too little to play with and read, too little happiness" (Noar, 1967, p. 3).

Theoretical Considerations

Attitude Development

According to Krech, Crutchfield and Ballachey (1962), an individual's attitude development is influenced by: (1) the process of want satisfaction, (2) the information to which he is exposed, (3) his group affiliation, and (4) his personality. Hawkes (1965) believed attitudes related to problems of racial equality and race relations are deep-rooted and fostered early in a child's life. Clinical evidence indicated attitudes were highly resistant to change.

Purpose of Attitude Research

The purpose of attitude research is to gain insight into aspects of attitude formation and development as well as attitude change. By knowing the attitudes of people, it is possible to understand, predict, control or modify their behavior. For educators and social scientists the prediction of the behavior of others is an important aspect of research.

Problems of Attitude Research

One of the problems of attitude research has been the inconsistency between verbal attitudinal responses of individuals and their actual attitudinal behavior. Miller (1967) suggested that attitude change researchers must develop measurement techniques which result in substantial correlations between verbal attitude measures and other attitudinally related behaviors. He believed that verbal attitude responses alone severely limit the theoretic and social utility of attitude research.

Studies on Groups of People Working With the Disadvantaged

The studies reviewed in this section deal primarily with the attitudes of teachers toward disadvantaged children and their families. Boger (1967) attempted to assess attitudes of 1,000 potential Head Start teachers during an orientation workshop and training session at the University of Texas in June, 1966. The Minnesota Teacher Attitude Inventory (MTAI), a Behavior Classification Checklist (BCC), and a Child Attitude Survey (CAS); both developed at the University of Texas, and a series of experimental multiple option rating scales designed to

measure teacher attitudes toward various child behavior dimensions and attitudes toward the Head Start program were administered to the trainees. Optimism about the effectiveness of the Head Start program, eagerness to become involved in work with the disadvantaged and ability to identify with culturally deprived children were examined in this study. Results of the study indicated that Mexican-American and Negro teachers entered the training session more optimistic than Anglo teachers about the overall results of the Head Start program, were more enthusiastic about working with deprived children of various ethnic groups and had more empathy for them. The Mexican-American and Negro teachers held more dominative and authoritarian attitudes toward child behavior, but these views tended to decrease with teaching experience. Negro teachers tended to view the causes of child behavior as less environmentally and more biogenically determined than did Mexican-American teachers, who held these views more strongly than Anglo teachers. The majority of the Anglo teachers were from middle class backgrounds, while a greater percentage of the Negro and Mexican-American teachers were from backgrounds similar to those of Head Start children. Boger concluded that on the basis of experiences and understanding, Negro and Mexican-American teachers might be expected to show greater identity with and enthusiasm for involvement in the Head Start program.

Helge and Pierce-Jones (1968) examined the relationship between number of years of teaching experience with deprived children and teacher's attitudes toward the effectiveness of the Head Start program. Participants were 145 female Head Start teachers who attended a workshop in 1965 previous to working with the Head Start program. During

another workshop in 1967 they completed autobiographical and experience forms. Most of the teachers were from lower-middle class families and spent most of their childhoods in predominately white areas, but with substantial numbers of Negro and Mexican-American families. Teachers were grouped according to their years of teaching experience and type of school. Significant differences were found in the variables dealing with teachers' perceptions of the effectiveness and acceptance of Head Start, their awareness of the effects of cultural deprivation, their feelings of success as Head Start teachers and their comparisons of Head Start and non-Head Start children from similar environments. All attitudes of all groups of teachers were positive. In most cases, the more general the experience of the teachers, the more stable and positive were her attitudes regarding the above variables. Teachers with no experience and those with six or more years of experience with disadvantaged children also showed more stable and positive attitudes.

Gottlieb's (1964) study attempted to identify similarities and differences between 36 Negro and 53 white elementary teachers in inner-city public schools and their views toward their work and their students of whom approximately 85 per cent were Negro and from low-income families. The Negro teachers tended to be somewhat younger and had less experience in teaching than did the white teachers. They generally came from lower-income families headed by women employed primarily in manual occupations, and were twice as likely to have attended public colleges in urban centers. White teachers were generally raised in middle-class families and came from medium-sized towns. The teachers were interviewed and given an adjective checklist to describe their students. Job satisfaction was related both to years of teaching

experience and race. Negro teachers expressed more satisfaction with their jobs in low income schools. White teachers were more critical of either students or their parents while Negro teachers were more likely to be critical of the physical and organizational structure of the school. Gottlieb believed the similarity of the Negro teachers' backgrounds to that of their students made them more realistic than white teachers in their expectations of students and thus more satisfied with their teaching jobs. On the adjective checklist, white teachers used the adjectives talkative, lazy, fun-loving, high-strung and rebellious more frequently to describe their students and tended to avoid adjectives which reflected stability and the desirable qualities one would like children in the classroom to possess. Negro teachers most often described their students as fun-loving, happy, cooperative, energetic and ambitious, qualities which seem to be universal attributes of children. Gottlieb concluded white teachers were more critical and pessimistic in their evaluations of disadvantaged students and thus more dissatisfied with their jobs. Negro teachers, because of their greater personal identification with these children, held more favorable attitudes toward disadvantaged children and their teaching jobs.

Rotter (1966) studied the extent to which values and attitudes of teachers influence their evaluation of children from various socioeconomic and ethnic groups. His subjects included 128 white female teachers taking graduate education courses. The teachers completed 80 items and scales which pertained to social and emotional adjustment of their pupils. Data on the teachers personal backgrounds and personality were also obtained. Vignettes of a nine-year-old pupil using

the variables of race, sex, social class and classroom behavior were read to each teacher. Rotter hypothesized that teachers with middle-class backgrounds would evaluate the personal and social adjustment of Negro pupils or pupils of lower socio-economic classes more negatively than those of middle-class or white pupils. None of the data supported his hypothesis that class and racial biases affect teacher ratings and evaluations. This finding is in direct contrast to that found in the previous study by Gottlieb in which he found white teachers more critical in their evaluations of disadvantaged students. Rotter concluded that if biases do exist, they do not influence teacher ratings and evaluations.

Faunce (1969) studied 210 effective and 97 non-effective teachers of the culturally disadvantaged in Minneapolis, Minnesota. He found the following to be unrelated to these teacher's attitudes toward disadvantaged children: sex, years of teaching experience, marital status, region of country in which the teacher was reared, father's occupation and education, degrees held and courses taken on the topic of the disadvantaged child, teaching effectiveness in general as rated by supervising principals, college graduated from, and personality traits as measured by the Minnesota Multiphasic Personality Inventory (MMPI). The following variables were related to the teacher's attitudes toward disadvantaged children: preference for working with disadvantaged children, a high proportion of disadvantaged children in their classes, considerable experience teaching disadvantaged children, and reading books on topics dealing with the disadvantaged. A questionnaire regarding culturally disadvantaged children was administered to teachers of disadvantaged students. Results indicated effective teachers recognized problems of the disadvantaged without rejecting the people and

displayed empathy and commitment to teach disadvantaged children. Non-effective teachers tended to be prejudiced and to ignore or deny the physical deprivation students faced and often took a punitive view toward the disadvantaged. In general Negro teachers and those who came from low income backgrounds tended to have more favorable attitudes toward the disadvantaged and were more effective. The effective teachers tended to have a more permissive attitude toward children in general as measured by the MTAI.

A study on the origins of attitudes and instructional practices among teachers of Mexican-American children was reported by Anderson (1969). A questionnaire dealing with the teachers' academic background, experience, career aspirations and instruction practices, and their attitudes toward students, parents, and special programs for disadvantaged minority children was administered to 72 public school math teachers in South El Paso, Texas. The findings revealed that type of professional training received by teachers might be a significant factor in the origin of their attitudes toward disadvantaged minority students. Faunce, however, found that training was not a factor in the attitudes of the teachers he studied. Anderson thought professional training and career aspirations appeared to influence the teachers' approaches, views regarding the value of compensatory and bilingual programs, appraisal of student ability and effort, and the type of student they enjoyed teaching. Teachers who had attended summer institutes or special training programs dealing with education of disadvantaged children appeared more willing to teach in schools that enrolled disadvantaged students than teachers who had never participated in training programs dealing with the problems of the disadvantaged.

They also felt more strongly about the value of, and need for, compensatory programs, including bilingual instruction in the lower grades for Spanish-speaking children.

Freedman's (1965) report dealt with three studies relative to the area of racial attitudes and perception. The article was based on assumptions that: (1) the white population of the United States is racially prejudiced against Negroes, (2) urban teaching staffs composed of mostly white, middle-class teachers have negative racial attitudes, and (3) negative attitudes hinder white, middle-class teacher effectiveness in programs for the deprived child. Six instruments were administered to two groups of student teachers; those who volunteered to participate in a program in "tough" schools and those who rejected the project in favor of working in a middle-class white school. Results indicated that the volunteers had greater need to meet challenges successfully and they displayed greater sympathy for the disadvantaged than did the non-volunteers.

The remaining information in this section is based on knowledge, opinions and observations of the authors rather than on scientific research.

Bettelheim and Janowitz (1964) in Social Change and Prejudice, hypothesized that younger persons are less prejudiced than older persons. They showed that the relationship between age and tolerance is complicated by the fact that young persons are more likely to be better educated and have an education more compatible with ethnic tolerance.

Bettelheim and Janowitz (1964) and Frenkel-Brunswik (1966) both expressed the views that persons in the lower socio-economic classes

appear more prejudiced than middle-class individuals, and the less educated tend to express more prejudice than the better educated. However, other variables may become factors.

Jablonsky (1967), in a discussion of attitudes held by college education students and teachers, cited four commonly held views about children and families from deprived neighborhoods: (1) poor parents are uninterested in their children's education, (2) disadvantaged children's intelligence is inferior, (3) disadvantaged children have little or no interest in school, and (4) disadvantaged children cannot be taught in the same way as middle-class children.

Studies on Attitude Change Toward the Disadvantaged

The following studies focus on attitudes and ways of changing attitudes toward the disadvantaged. A study on attitude change reported by Levan (1968) was an evaluation to determine: (1) the effect of Title I in-service teacher training on changes in semantic differential meaning, (2) differences in semantic differential meaning between teachers who did and did not have the training, and (3) the relationships between personality characteristics and changes in attitude accompanying Title I training. The subjects included 50 randomly selected groups of teachers of disadvantaged students in the Southwest who had volunteered for Title I training during the 1966-67 school year. They were compared with teachers who had volunteered for Title I training during the 1965-66 school year, instructional leaders of the 1966-67 in-service project and school district consultants who had Title I training during the 1966-67 school year. Semantic differential was used to measure the attitude potency and activity dimensions of meaning.

One projective and four non-projective instruments were correlate measures. Results indicated that Title I teacher in-service training during the 1966-67 school year did effect attitudinal differences, but there were no attitudinal differences in the other three groups. Levan suggested that measured attitudinal changes may be short term, thus explaining why the 1965-66 in-service trainees showed no attitudinal differences. He explained that the correlate results implied teachers who had higher ego strength and lower mental ability developed more favorable attitudes.

A study dealing with teacher attitude change toward the disadvantaged was conducted by the College of Education at Arizona State University (1968) as part of a Title I in-service project during the 1966-67 school year. Similar to the study reported by Levan, three groups were studied: teachers, instructional leaders and consultants. A control group of teachers who did not receive training was also used. The main source of data again was a semantic differential device which measured the evaluative or attitude, potency, and activity dimensions of meaning. This study also used one projective and four non-projective instruments as correlate measures. The purposes of the study were to measure change in the semantic differential meaning that teachers attributed to certain concepts, to measure the teachers' personality characteristics and to determine the actual correlation between changes in attitude and teacher characteristics. Results indicated teachers and instructional leaders changed their attitudes toward disadvantaged children from unfavorable to favorable following in-service training. Instructional leaders also developed more favorable attitudes toward the curriculum. Although the instructional

leaders attitudes toward equality remained unfavorable, they were not as pronounced as before the training sessions. The training had no effect on the attitudes of the consultants. The control group of teachers maintained their unfavorable attitudes toward disadvantaged children during the period of study.

A study reported by Durrett (1969) used the Parent Attitude Research Instrument (PARI) to measure shifts in attitudes toward children by Head Start trainees participating in eight-week teacher training programs at San Jose State College. The program included observation and supervised participation with disadvantaged families. The PARI was administered to three experimental groups and one control group at the beginning and end of each eight-week period. The trainees ranged in age from 21 to 54, with a mean age of 35. Their education ranged from high school to college graduate, most having only a high school education. Each group had an almost equal distribution of Mexican-American, Negro and Anglo trainees. There were twenty-four women and one man in each group, most of whom were employed as aides in Head Start programs in California. The control group showed almost no change in attitudes as measured by the PARI while the experimental groups showed positive shifts in attitudes on 12 of the 23 sub-scales. These scales tended to be concerned primarily with immediate interaction with children and suggested increased understanding of disadvantaged children as a result of the educational program. Whether the attitudinal shifts were accompanied by behavioral shifts is a concern for further study.

There have been few systematic studies of opinions and attitudes of Head Start trainees toward poverty, prejudice, or the disadvantaged.

This writer has sought to present definitions of major concepts and theoretical considerations pertinent to attitude research. Reviews of relevant studies dealing with attitudes of teachers toward the disadvantaged and studies of the effects of workshops and in-service training using disadvantaged children as referents on short-term attitude change provide a basis for interpreting the statistical results of this study and serve as a stimulus for further research.

In summary the following conclusions might be drawn from current literature concerning teachers' attitudes toward the disadvantaged.

1. Teachers who have experienced cultural and/or economic deprivation similar to the children they work with generally identify with and relate to them better than teachers who have not had these experiences.
2. Teachers of different ethnic backgrounds tend to have different attitudes concerning the education and development of disadvantaged children.
3. Teachers' attitudes and some demographic variables such as rural and urban residence and amount of teaching experience appear to be related.
4. Type of professional training may be a significant factor in the origin of teacher attitudes toward disadvantaged children.
5. Training programs dealing with the education of disadvantaged children appear to have a positive effect on the attitudes of the trainees toward working in disadvantaged schools, at least in the short term. One study indicated these changes in attitudes may not persist over a long period

of time.

As indicated by the studies reviewed, results concerning the attitudes of teachers toward the disadvantaged varied depending on the independent variables examined and the instruments used to measure the attitudes. Also, as pointed out early in the chapter, the problem of differences between verbal and behavioral attitudes is very important in attitude research. Several studies pointed out the effectiveness of special training on short-term attitude change toward the disadvantaged, but long-term effects are in doubt.

In order to assist both those working with the disadvantaged and the disadvantaged themselves, researchers need to be able to find reliable methods of determining attitudes and changing them, if needed. This will take many systematic and carefully designed studies. It is hoped that this study, though limited in design, will contribute a small part to the challenge attitude research affords.

CHAPTER III

METHOD

Subjects

Subjects of this study were sixty-two trainees who participated in the three eight-week Head Start training sessions. Initially, prospective trainees were informed of the training sessions and selected as trainees by community and regional Head Start personnel. In the first session there were twenty-three trainees, in the second session twenty-six and in the third session thirteen trainees.

Formal classes, guest speakers, films, field trips, informal discussion groups and observation and participation in the Kansas State University Child Development Laboratory and at the Manhattan Head Start Child Development Center provided a variety of learning experiences for the trainees. Trainees were selectively assigned to the discussion groups by the project director, making possible the widest variety of backgrounds with respect to race, sex, educational background and teaching experience. Each discussion group contained five to seven trainees and met one hour weekly.

Each trainee was personally interviewed by participant observers who served as informal leaders for the discussion groups to which the trainees were assigned. Interviews were conducted informally for the purpose of establishing rapport between trainee and participant observer before group meetings began. All trainees were informed about the

purpose of the groups, the names of the members and the participant observer for each group.

Instruments

Each trainee filled out an information checklist (Appendix, p. 82) at the beginning of the eight-week session. Items included were designed to obtain factual data on personal background factors such as marital status, age, residence, number of children, educational background, work experience, present employment, participation in community activities, interests and hobbies.

The informal group discussions were a major means of collecting information from the trainees regarding their concerns and feelings during training. All trainees had a common interest in disadvantaged children and their families which facilitated a lively interchange of ideas. Because the groups were structured with participant observers, the majority of the trainees felt free to express their fears, criticisms, worries and hopes and to relate their experiences. The group members became intellectually as well as emotionally involved in the discussions. Trainees were not pressured to resolve any points unless they chose to do so individually.

During one of the beginning meetings of the first two training sessions each trainee wrote an essay entitled "What I Know About Low Income Families." This essay was not used for the third training session.

An Operation Head Start Worker's Attitude Scale (Appendix, p. 85) was completed by trainees from the second and third training sessions. This scale consisted of two parts. The first dealt with attitudes

toward the disadvantaged and the second with attitudes toward Head Start children and "most" children. Only the first part was used in this study.

Discussion Group Data

The informal discussion groups met weekly for the purpose of allowing trainees opportunity to express feelings and concerns about on-going training experiences. Staff members of the Department of Family and Child Development not connected with classroom teaching of the trainees served as participant observers for each discussion group. Participant observers remained with one group throughout the session. They participated in some of the field trips and attended lectures by guest speakers along with trainees. The participant observer's function was to facilitate sharing of experiences in the discussion groups.

Data from these weekly discussions were collected by means of: (1) debriefing, and (2) coding and filing. This model was adapted from a project on "Integrative Experiences of College Students," developed and conducted by Dr. Carroll E. Kennedy and Dr. David Danskin of the Center of Student Development at Kansas State University.*

Debriefing

Immediately following each discussion session the participant observer verbally summarized the topics, events, and observations for the project director or another staff member. The goal of this procedure

*NIMH Project Grant MN 15045, 1968-1969.

was to understand and interpret the feelings of the group members and the group as a whole.

Each debriefing session began with a discussion of the climate which prevailed in the group. The participant observer then gave a report on the participation and major concerns of each individual in the group. The session concluded with a recapitulation of the content of the discussion according to topics discussed by various group members.

Information from the debriefing was recorded by the project director on dictating equipment. Multiple copies were made of the dictated material so that it could be coded.

Coding and Filing

The typed material was coded according to eight general topics and twenty-one subtopics (Appendix, p. 88). These topics pertained to the trainees' reactions to the training session experiences and group interaction. Coded material was filed according to: (1) topics, (2) contributions of each trainee, and (3) group climate.

This report is concerned only with the major topic "Reactions to Selected Conditions." Included were the trainees' own experiences with poverty, prejudice, and segregation and their feelings and attitudes toward prejudice and other's experiences with poverty and prejudice (Topic VI of Code Sheet in Appendix, p. 89). The trainees were rated on their apparent awareness of prejudice as verbalized in the group discussions. The total contribution of each trainee was classified according to the following scales:

- (1) did not refer to prejudice in any way, or appeared completely oblivious or unaware that prejudice existed,

Example: Mrs. B. seemed as if she was hearing about something of this type for the first time and said "Something's got to be done, but how? What?"

- (2) appeared aware of prejudice at the cognitive or knowledge level,

Example: Mr. B. stated there is a caste-like system in the United States,

- (3) reported prejudice at the affective or feeling level either by having friends or acquaintances experience prejudice or had experienced prejudice themselves,

Example: From a white trainee: Mrs. W. reported that her son was playing in a Negro baseball league and really didn't know it was, but even after she learned it was her son stayed in it. A person came to her and told her that didn't she know the consequences of such things as associating with Negroes.

After a discussion of the definitions, the writer and an associate individually read each set of statements and classified them according to the above categories. Rater agreement was calculated at .77. Where disagreement occurred, agreement was reached after discussion.

In addition, each trainee was scored as to number of group discussions in which he participated. Three groups emerged: those who participated in no group discussions (none); those who participated in one or two group discussions (moderate); and those who participated in three to five group discussions (much).

Classification of Data From Other Instruments

In order to make the data contained on the essay "What I Know About Low Income Families" suitable for statistical testing, the investigator sought to classify potentially useful variables. Through the process of content analysis two distinct categories became evident.

The first category that emerged from the essay was the trainee's reference to poverty or prejudice:

(1) in childhood;

Example: Though I have not experienced extreme poverty myself, I can remember times in my childhood when we lived in the basement of an old barn while my father remodeled it into the semblance of a home.

(2) in present personal conditions;

Example: I have been in a low income home all my life. To me it is normal. You always wish or hope for something a little better, but it is always "Maybe next week" or "maybe next year," never seeming to get to your front door. I have heard my children go to bed crying "I'm hungry" and cry myself to sleep. There is always that little prayer in a mother's heart, "Please God, give us strength."

(3) in present or past personal acquaintances;

Example: Some of my friends did not even have electric lights, gas, or a modern bathroom. Some days after school I would go home with them to find to my amazement they would have nothing in the house to eat, or the father only possessed enough to buy some milk for the baby. I have had friends whose parents could not even afford to go to a doctor when their family was in need of medical assistance. I've associated with girls who didn't have but two dresses to wear to school and may have shoes with no heels.

(4) in unknown or generalized others.

Example: There are low income families in every race. There are many different reasons for a family to be poverty stricken - the father may be sick, disabled; he may be an alcoholic or a drug addict, he may not be able to hold down a job because of race discrimination, not enough education.

Each of the above four groupings was rated independently either "yes" or "no" by the investigator and a graduate student in the area. In any one essay, there may have been reference to all four

categories. Agreement between raters occurred in 75 per cent of the cases. After discussion on points of disagreement, joint agreement was reached.

A second way in which the essays were classified was according to the trainee's emphasis on the qualitative or quantitative aspects of poverty. Judgment was based upon the impact of the total essay. The qualitative aspect was defined as greater emphasis on the quality of life such as love, respect, sharing among family members and friends, insecurity, sense of hopelessness, and suspicion of others. An example quoted from a Mexican-American male trainee is:

I have found that many of the parents do not give their children at least one hour a day for a question and answer session, not to mention understanding and compassion for their loved ones. I have seen actual cases when a child will actually ask the father or mother for assistance with their homework and they merely whisk them away by saying "I'm too tired, go ask your mother." Or the parent will say "I'm watching TV." Every child needs love and affection and good parental guidance. When a child keeps making mistakes after mistakes, it doesn't do no harm to praise him for trying.

The quantitative aspect concerned more emphasis on the material things in life such as food, clothing, and housing. A Negro trainee said:

Until I was eighteen years of age, I never knew what beef tasted like. We lived mainly on beans, greens, potatoes and some pork. There were many Xmas we never received Xmas. We missed some meals when beans and flour weren't available.

A class of forty-five graduate students enrolled in a seminar entitled "Low Income Families" was given copies of each essay. Definitions were presented and discussed, after which each student independently rated each essay. Rater agreement was calculated at .85, the same as that reached by the investigator and an associate. After joint discussion by the investigator and associate, agreement was

reached on those essays where disagreement occurred.

The Operation Head Start Worker's Attitude Scale contained thirty items, of which eleven items were positive and nineteen items were negative. These items were weighted with high scores reflecting positive attitudes toward the disadvantaged. The scores on each item ranged from one to five making a possible score of 150. Scores ranged from 99 to 143 for the thirty-seven trainees who completed the attitude scale. A mean was calculated for the thirty-seven scores. Those who scored above the mean made up one category and those who scored at the mean or below were placed in a second category.

Chi square statistics were computed using the Chi Square Program designed by the Computer Center at Kansas State University.* Examples from the essay "What I Know About Low Income Families" and the discussion groups are included as illustrative of the statistical results.

*Chi Square Program written by Ron Smith of the Kansas State University Computer Center, March 3, 1970.

CHAPTER IV

RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

Description of Trainees

Analysis of the information checklist data revealed great diversity of backgrounds, age, and education among the sixty-two trainees who participated in the Head Start training sessions at Kansas State University. Nine states from the Head Start region were represented. The majority of the trainees were from Kansas (26), Missouri (15), and Colorado (15). There was one trainee each from Idaho, Montana, North Dakota, Oklahoma, South Dakota, and Wyoming. A general description of the trainees is presented in Table 1.

Racially, the group was coded into two categories: white (37) and non-white (25) which included eighteen Negroes, six Mexican-Americans, and one American Indian (Table 1). Based on marital status, two categories were established. Approximately one-fourth of the trainees had never married (single - 17) while the remaining participants were either married, divorced, separated or widowed (married - 45).

Education of trainees ranged from seventh grade through graduate study. Trainees were categorized educationally as follows: (1) those with less than a high school diploma (9), (2) those who had high school diplomas, some technical training or less than two years of college (25), and (3) those with two years or more of college training (19). The latter category included teachers with two-year certificates, people

TABLE 1

DESCRIPTION OF HEAD START TRAINEES ENROLLED AT KANSAS STATE
UNIVERSITY TRAINING SESSIONS, 1966

Category	Number	Per Cent
Race		
White	37	59.7
Non-white	<u>25</u>	<u>40.3</u>
Total	62	100.0
Marital Status		
Single	17	27.4
Married	<u>45</u>	<u>72.6</u>
Total	62	100.0
Education		
Less Than High School Diploma	9	14.5
Less Than Two Years College	25	40.3
Two Years of College or More	<u>28</u>	<u>45.2</u>
Total	62	100.0
Occupation		
Not Employed	20	32.3
Unskilled and Semi-skilled	23	37.1
Skilled and Professional	<u>19</u>	<u>30.6</u>
Total	62	100.0
Age		
19-25	19	30.6
26-40	27	43.5
41 and Over	<u>16</u>	<u>25.8</u>
Total	62	100.0
Residence		
In-State	26	41.9
Out-of-State	<u>36</u>	<u>58.1</u>
Total	62	100.0
Sex		
Male	7	11.3
Female	<u>55</u>	<u>88.7</u>
Total	62	100.0

with four-year degrees, some with graduate study, and two with graduate degrees.

Occupation codes included those not employed (20), those in unskilled or semi-skilled occupations (23), and those in skilled or professional occupations (19). The non-employed group consisted mainly of college students and women who were heads of households. Several were homemakers with some college training who were utilizing the training session as a refresher for becoming Head Start teachers. The unskilled and semi-skilled group included a housekeeper, a dry cleaning employee, licensed practical nurses, steno-clerks, Head Start staff and teachers' aides, a dormitory housemother and private kindergarten teachers. Public school teachers, a Head Start social coordinator and a school administrator made up the skilled and professional group.

The age groups were: (1) nineteen to twenty-five (19), (2) twenty-six to forty (27), and (3) forty-one and over (16). These groups were selected because the trainees' formative years coincided closely with recurring periods of war, depression and prosperity. It was thought that differences in attitudes and opinions might exist between them. The age range was from nineteen to sixty-nine years with a median age of 35.5 years and an average age of 34.6 years for all participants.

Most of the trainees stayed in a university dormitory as a group. A few chose to live off campus and a few commuted, though commuting was discouraged. Many trainees went home for week-ends. Trainees indicated that living in the dormitory provided opportunity for personal interchange of ideas both with fellow trainees and university students.

Head Start Trainee Attitudes

The hypotheses stated in Chapter I were non-parametrically tested for significance by means of chi square tests of independence. Anecdotal comments from the discussion groups and essay "What I Know About Low Income Families" are included to illustrate themes which predominated and served as a basis for the coding categories.

Hypothesis I: There is no relationship between the amount of participation on the topic "Reactions to Selected Conditions" in the informal group discussions and the five independent variables:

- a. race
- b. marital status
- c. education
- d. occupation
- e. age

A statistical analysis indicated race was related to amount of participation in the group discussions at the .05 level (Table 2). There was greater participation from whites than non-whites. Marital status, education, occupation, and age were not significantly related to this variable. Individual participation by the trainees showed 14 per cent of the white trainees not participating in any group discussions while 40 per cent of the non-white trainees were non-participants (Table 2). Fifty-seven per cent of the white trainees and 48 per cent of the non-white trainees participated in one or two group discussions and 30 per cent of the white and only 12 per cent of the non-white trainees participated in three to five discussions. Only one trainee, a 25-year-old woman with a high school diploma, contributed comments dealing with poverty and prejudice in all five group discussions.

TABLE 2

PARTICIPATION IN GROUP DISCUSSIONS BY HEAD START TRAINEES AT
KANSAS STATE UNIVERSITY TRAINING SESSIONS, 1966

Independent Variables	Amount of Participation			Chi Square
	None	1-2	3-5	
	N=15	N=33	N=14	
Race				
White	5	21	11	6.618** (d.f. = 2)
Non-white	10	12	3	
Marital Status				
Single	5	9	3	0.516 (d.f. = 2)
Married	10	24	11	
Education				
Less Than High School Diploma	3	5	1	
Less Than Two Years College	8	10	7	4.417 (d.f. = 4)
Two Years of College or More	4	18	6	
Occupation				
Not Employed	6	10	4	
Unskilled and Semi-skilled	6	11	6	1.589 (d.f. = 4)
Skilled and Professional	3	12	4	
Age				
19-25	4	11	4	
26-40	7	15	5	1.240 (d.f. = 4)
41 and Over	4	7	5	

**Significant at .05 level

These data show how many trainees participated in each discussion group on the topic "Reactions to Selected Conditions," however the data do not show that some sessions were nearly dominated by a few trainees. Since the participant observer was debriefed by the project leader, who in turn summarized the discussion group information, there is no comment by comment data to show participation patterns. Also not shown by these data was the fact that while some trainees did not participate in the discussion groups on the topic dealing with the disadvantaged and prejudice, they may have participated on other discussion topics.

One can only speculate as to why a greater percentage of non-whites than whites did not contribute to the topic under consideration in the group discussions, especially since there were no significant relationships with the other independent variables. Since the white trainees as a group had a higher level of education and were employed in more skilled occupations, it might be that they had greater self-confidence in their knowledge and verbal ability to discuss the topic than did the non-white trainees. Verbal interaction on the topics of poverty and prejudice might have been different if the participant observers had been non-white. A look at amount of participation might have brought different results.

Hypothesis II: There is no relationship between awareness of prejudice as revealed in the discussion groups and the five independent variables:

- a. race
- b. marital status
- c. education
- d. occupation
- e. age

Prejudice awareness as expressed in the discussions was significantly related to race and education at the .05 level and significantly related to occupation at a .10 level (Table 3). Marital status and age were not significantly related to the trainees' awareness of prejudice as expressed in the discussion groups. Of the forty-seven trainees who participated in the group discussions, fourteen either made no reference to prejudice or were oblivious of its existence, eighteen were aware of prejudice at the knowledge level and fifteen reported awareness of prejudice at the affective level.

On the basis of race, a greater number of white trainees (41 per cent) than non-white trainees (7 per cent) made no reference to prejudice or were oblivious of its existence. Thirty-eight per cent of the white trainees and 67 per cent of the non-white trainees were aware of prejudice at the knowledge level, while 53 per cent of the non-white trainees and only 22 per cent of the white trainees were aware of prejudice at the affective level (Table 3).

On the basis of education, 83 per cent of the trainees with less than a high school education were aware of prejudice at the affective or feeling level alone. The remaining 17 per cent were coded as being aware of prejudice at the knowledge or cognitive level. Of the trainees with less than two years of college, four (24 per cent) did not refer to prejudice or were oblivious of it, six (35 per cent) revealed an awareness of prejudice at the knowledge level and seven (41 per cent) were aware of prejudice at the affective level. Of the trainees with two years or more of college, 41 per cent did not refer to prejudice or were oblivious of its existence, 46 per cent were aware of prejudice at the knowledge level and only 13 per cent

TABLE 3

REFERENCE TO PREJUDICE IN GROUP DISCUSSIONS BY HEAD START TRAINEES AT
KANSAS STATE UNIVERSITY TRAINING SESSIONS, 1966

Independent Variables	Reference to Prejudice			Chi Square
	No Reference or Oblivious	Aware at Knowledge Level	Aware at Affective Level	
	N=14	N=18	N=15	
Race				
White	13	12	7	7.137** (d.f. = 2)
Non-white	1	6	8	
Marital Status				
Single	6	4	2	3.488 (d.f. = 2)
Married	8	14	13	
Education				
Less Than High School Diploma	0	1	5	
Less Than Two Years College	4	6	7	12.539** (d.f. = 4)
Two Years of College or More	10	11	3	
Occupation				
Not Employed	7	4	3	
Unskilled and Semi-skilled	3	5	9	8.633* (d.f. = 4)
Skilled and Professional	4	9	3	
Age				
19-25	6	4	5	
26-40	5	9	6	1.611 (d.f. = 4)
41 and Over	3	5	4	

**Significant at .05 level

*Significant at .10 level

were aware of prejudice at the affective level (Table 3). As education increased, there seemed to be fewer expressions of prejudice at the affective level, but more expressions denoting either a knowledge level awareness of prejudice or an unawareness of the problem.

In reference to occupation, 50 per cent of the trainees not employed did not refer to prejudice or were oblivious of its existence while 29 per cent were aware at the knowledge level and 53 per cent at the affective level. Twenty-five per cent of the skilled and professional group made no reference to prejudice, 56 per cent were aware at the knowledge level and only 19 per cent were aware of prejudice at the affective level (Table 3).

Persons employed in occupations requiring little skill in general were more aware of the existence of prejudice. Skilled and professional persons reported fewer experiences with prejudice (affective level) but greater knowledge of prejudice. The non-employed group included several women who were heads of household and had some college training, but had not attempted to find employment because they were welfare recipients. Experience in the work world seemed important. The type of employment open to people is closely tied to education. Those who were not employed were more likely to make reference to prejudice than those who were employed.

A contribution coded as being oblivious of prejudice came from Miss P.: single, 19 years old, white, non-employed, and a high school graduate. The participant observer discussed Miss P's. comments with the debriefer.

She seemed to take a very definite stand on the question of identifying the children by race. Arguments were directed against her and she was forced to answer each argument as it

came to her. She seemed bound and determined to stick to her guns and try to convince the others that it was "all right" for her to identify the children this way. Throughout the discussion she continued to stick to her guns about the "rightness" of identification by race, or color, or whatever. By the end of the hour there was a heated exchange among participants concerning whether the children in the nursery school and Head Start should be called Spanish and Negro. Finally, even after the bell rang, they could see that they really were not getting very far with Miss P., and in a dejected sort of way, they simply ended the discussion saying "you just don't understand."

The following examples were coded as knowledge level awareness of prejudice. The participant observer related an experience given by Mrs. H. and replied to by Mr. B. Mrs. H. was a 23-year-old, married teacher with some graduate work. Mr. B., a Negro trainee with a master's degree was also a teacher.

Mrs. H. told about a Negro woman who had the same qualifications that she did. This woman was hired as an aide while Mrs. H. was hired as a teacher. Mr. B. commented "the problem was your skin was white while hers was black." He said there is a caste-like system in the United States. Mrs. H. asked "You mean on skin color?" Mr. B. replied "yes". Mrs. H. replied that the lighter one's skin is, the more likely he will find a job. Mr. B. stated that state and federal civil service have done a good job in decreasing discrimination of people because of their race. However, he feels that private industries and public utilities have a long way to go. Mr. B. said that if the poor white and the poor Negro would unite forces, a whole new system would evolve. He said much has been done in the past and the present to prevent these groups from uniting.

The debriefer recorded an example given by Mrs. B., a 38-year-old, divorced, non-employed, Negro trainee with two years of college:

Mrs. B. pointed out that if a person "has it in himself" he can rid himself of poverty conditions and have the motivation to do better in his life instead of sticking out the conditions he was born into. She thought that they had plenty of opportunities if they had the initiative to go and look on their own.

Mr. F. was a 26-year-old, single, white, teacher with some graduate work. The participant observer noted Mr. F. made the first response to a comment about integration.

He comes from a small Indiana town where there are few Negroes and few Mexican people, so he hadn't been conscious of how this integration business could come about. He is living in the dorm with a Negro and Mexican-American. He commented that it was not only the smoothness of living together, but the ability to talk about problems which they faced; colored and whites, and minority groups and majority groups, and the relationship between them.

Mrs. B., a white, 49-year-old married trainee with one year of college was also coded as being aware of prejudice at the knowledge level. The debriefer recorded that:

...she lived in the midst of prejudice, etc. and she was tired of talking about it. They talked about it everywhere; they talked about it in Mrs. M's. class, they talked about it in the dorm, at dinner time, etc. and that it was being repeated over and over again and she was tired of hearing about it. She was resentful of the whole discussion, of the things which were going on. Mrs. B. seemed to think that all this talk was getting out of hand. She pointed out that there was really no problem but the more you talked and dug at things, the more apt they would be to become problems. She was almost saying that the group itself by talking about it was making the problems. The group seemed to resent this suggestion, but half agreed with it. They pointed out to her that they couldn't understand how in the world she thought there wasn't any problem. Mrs. B. was quite upset, her parting word was the fact that they hadn't talked about a pleasant thing the past two weeks, at the dorm, in the rooms, at the table eating, or in class. All they talked about was prejudice. Even the dorm minister talked about prejudice. Her feeling was that it was sort of getting wagged to death and they would be better if they let it rest and stop talking so much about it so they could have time to cultivate some other topics of conversation and have some other outlets of their thinking.

Mrs. S. was a white, 57-year-old, married teacher with more than two years of college. The participant observer reported:

Mrs. S. made the suggestion that people who were this prejudiced and who were in the process of learning to be comfortable with people of other cultures, should be guided into some work other than Head Start. She was certain that this woman to whom the group referred previously would not make a good Head Start teacher because of the attitude toward people of other cultures and races.

Coded as another cognitive level experience were the remarks

made by Miss W., a white, 19-year-old college student.

Miss W. said that her grandmother had come from Georgia and that they were quite prejudiced when she was raised and lived there. They had Negro workers, maids, etc. and when she first came to Denver to live with the W's, she wouldn't even ride on the same bus with a Negro. But as she lived in Denver and talked with the granddaughters and their family, she saw how comfortable they were with the Negro people and as the girls talked about their experiences with the Negroes, she has changed a great deal of her attitudes about Negroes and she doesn't mind as much now.

Awareness of prejudice at the affective level consisted of two aspects: (1) those who had had friends or acquaintances experience prejudice and those who had themselves experienced prejudice, and (2) whether the experiences were viewed as a "way of life" or with bitterness and hostility.

Coded as exemplifying bitterness or hostility were the following illustrations reported by the participant observer. Mrs. B. was a divorced, white, 34-year-old trainee with less than two years of college and a recipient of welfare payments.

Mrs. B. commented about an experience she had staying with a low income family when she was a teacher. She found it hard to sleep and eat after having seen the home conditions. Later Mrs. B. commented that it seems to be the people on welfare who take the biggest digs even though others receive federal aid in the way of social security, farm subsidy, etc. The latter do not appear to be down-graded. Mrs. B., who is on welfare, stated that she gets so mad sometimes when people dig at her for being on welfare. She stated that she would like to ask them about farm subsidy or social security, but that she keeps quiet.

Miss W. was a single, 23-year-old Negro trainee with some college training and employed in a semi-skilled occupation.

W's. comment was "It's not that we're not proud of our race, we just get tired of being called it all the time."

Mrs. J., a 34-year-old divorced, Negro trainee had less than a high school diploma and was employed in an unskilled occupation.

Mrs. J. backed up her opinion by saying that if she had to make a presentation to a group about her race, about her people and their ways of thinking, she would probably have burst into tears. This would have been caused by her knowledge of what had happened to her race and all the things they had gone through--this was in answer to a question by Miss C. (participant observer) asking her why she would burst into tears.

Mrs. T., a 43-year-old, married, white trainee with less than a high school degree was unemployed.

Mrs. T. interjected an experience into the conversation. She said that she knew a woman in the Head Start group and then she turned her head to Miss C. (participant observer) and said: "but I am not going to tell her name." She said this lady lives in a mixed community and has had a hard life and a lot of experience with Negroes and yet she is quite outspoken about her beliefs concerning the need for segregation. She says that white people ought to go to white's stores and Negroes should go to their stores. She believes that she will not be a bit prejudiced in this Head Start work because she loves the children, it is just the adult Negroes which she doesn't like. Miss C. was astounded by this and proceeded to verbalize some of her feelings which she felt accurately described or represented the feeling of the group. She wondered how in the world this person could work in a Head Start center where she had to work with these children and their families--how could she separate the children from the families? Mrs. T. went on to say that this woman pointed out that the Bible said that Negroes and whites should not mix. Miss C. asked if she were a religious woman and Mrs. T. said: "Indeed not, not the way she talks and not the things she does!" She said that she wouldn't want this lady teaching her children!

Mrs. L. was a 32-year-old Mexican-American with less than a high school degree and employed in an unskilled occupation. In response to a question by the group as to what the Mexican-Americans preferred to be called:

Mrs. L. said that they did not want to be called Mexicans, they wanted to be called Spanish. When Miss C. (participant observer) asked why, Mrs. L. answered that people when they called them "Mexicans" were really calling them "dirty Mexicans."

Mrs. D., a 46-year-old, married, American-Indian teacher with three years of college related two experiences with prejudice.

Mrs. D. said that it seemed to her that people with any "horse

sense" at all would know better than to walk up to a person and ask them if they were Negro or Mexican or whatever they were. However, she reported that this had happened to her and people had asked her if she were a Negro or Mexican. It was almost as if she were saying, "It really doesn't matter who I am, but in some sections the discrimination is against Negroes, if you are a Mexican all is well." She seemed to be saying that people had to be sure of the national background of a person before they can know whether or not [to accept them] and the manner in which they are going to treat them.

Mrs. D. also related the story of a Navajo Indian girl who left the reservation because she had a scholarship from a large university in the East. She got on the bus. She was forced to sit on the very back seat of the bus. Mrs. D. went on to say that at the very first bus stop the girl got up, got off the bus and went straight back to the reservation. Her comment was, "And can you blame her?"

Mrs. T., a 52-year-old, separated, unemployed, Negro trainee with less than two years of college voiced strong feelings about prejudice.

According to her point of view [there was something unfair about] the influx of immigrants who must be guaranteed jobs before entering the country, whereas the Negro who has lived here all his life is made no such guarantee and often finds it impossible to get a job. She pointed out that when Negroes went to look for a job, employers asked, "Do you have any training?" If the answer is "no," the employer then, of course, had every right to say "We can't hire you." If the Negro says "Yes, I am trained," then the employer either went on to make other qualifications or said simply "I'm sorry, but this job is filled." It was almost as though Mrs. T. were saying it just doesn't make any difference if these people have training or not. People are not going to hire them. They are discriminated against in worthwhile jobs. However, it also seemed that part of her argument was that Negroes should be trained so that they might have the satisfaction of knowing that it was not their fault they did not get the jobs... that here was a white man who was a liar. It would sort of pull the white man down a bit and give the Negro an edge somehow on the white employer who lied to him about this job.

Mrs. E. was a 40-year-old Negro trainee who was married, employed in an unskilled occupation and had less than a high school degree. She had also experienced prejudice at the feeling level.

Mrs. E. picked the conversation up and said that she was from the deep South and had learned to accept snubs from white people.

She wouldn't dare approach a white person, or sit in the front part of the bus down there. Then she moved to Denver and saw that people were far more accepting than she was willing or used to being accepted. It took her some time to understand that the people were accepting of her. Then she said, when she came to M. she saw the kind of situation that she had seen in the deep South.

Only three trainees who had experienced prejudice at the affective level were coded as indicating prejudice was accepted as a "way of life." Two examples are illustrative of this level. Mrs. F., a white, divorced, 25-year-old high school graduate who was employed in an unskilled occupation fitted into this category.

Mrs. F. reported that on one occasion, she saw one of the Negro women with whom she had been working in her own home, in the supermarket. Mrs. F. was with a friend, but stopped and chatted with the woman. Sometime later the Negro lady reported that this was the first time that a white person had stopped to talk to her in a public place when the white person had a friend with her. The Negro woman said that many times whites would talk with Negro people when they were alone, but not when they were with their own friends.

Another example was reported by Mrs. J., a 42-year-old, married, white trainee with less than two years of college and employed in a semi-skilled occupation.

Mrs. J. gave an illustration of a thing which happened to her when she and her family were living in North Carolina. She said her son was playing in a Negro baseball league and really didn't know it was, but even after she learned about it her son stayed in it. A person came to her and told her that didn't she know the consequences of such things as associating with Negroes, and said someday the Ku Klux Klan would burn a cross on her front lawn. The amazing thing really about this was that none of the group asked her what she did. It was as if they were simply talking about the gory details of things that happened to people without saying "What do you do about this kind of thing?" Mrs. J. did say that this shocked and frightened her a great deal. But nobody said: "Well, did you take your boy out? Did they burn the cross or didn't they?"

As evidenced by the anecdotal illustrations presented, most of the trainees who reported a knowledge level awareness of prejudice

were white, had two or more years of college and were employed in skilled or professional occupations. Most were married, a variable which neared a significant relationship (Table 7). The majority of the trainees who were aware of prejudice at the affective or feeling level were non-white, had less than two years of college and were employed in unskilled or semi-skilled occupations. Several were divorced or separated. Age ranged from 23 to 52 years, with the majority being in the 30's and 40's.

Hypothesis III: In a written essay "What I Know About Low Income Families," there is no relationship between reference to poverty in:

- a. childhood
- b. present personal conditions
- c. present or past personal acquaintances
- d. unknown or generalized others

and the five independent variables:

- 1. race
- 2. marital status
- 3. education
- 4. occupation
- 5. age

Essays entitled "What I Know About Low Income Families" written by forty-two Head Start trainees were scored according to the kinds of references made to poverty. Each category: reference to childhood, reference to present personal conditions, reference to present or past personal acquaintances, and reference to unknown or generalized others received either a "yes" or "no" rating. References of sixteen trainees fit only a single category; thirteen trainees made references which fell into three categories and only two trainees made references to poverty which covered all four categories.

Reference to Childhood

No significant relationship was found between reference to childhood and any of the independent variables. Nineteen Head Start trainees made reference to poverty in their childhood years and twenty-three trainees made no such reference. Almost equal numbers of married and single, white and non-white, and more and less educated trainees made reference to childhood experiences with poverty. However, among unskilled or semi-skilled trainees, twice as many made no reference to childhood experiences of poverty as those who made reference to such experiences. There was no such difference among the non-employed and skilled or professional groups. Nearly twice as many of the trainees in the age group 19 to 25 made no reference to childhood experiences as did, while in the age categories 26 to 40 and 41 and over, those who made some reference to childhood experiences of poverty and those who did not were equally divided (Table 4a).

From the data presented, it can be concluded that no differences occurred among groups with regard to the Head Start trainees' reference or lack of reference to childhood experiences with poverty. Three trainees, all Negroes with college degrees and employed in professional occupations, made reference only to childhood experiences of poverty.

Examples of references to poverty experiences in childhood are illustrated by the following examples:

Mr. C., a white, married, 50-year-old trainee with a master's degree and employed in a professional occupation said:

I am one of 15 children and have first-hand experiences of poverty and the effects one might suffer from poverty. Food and clothing were limited in quality; however, my mother was very versatile in providing balanced meals from the garden and the fruit trees, along with canning and meat curing. The

TABLE 4a

REFERENCE TO POVERTY EXPRESSED IN ESSAY WRITTEN BY HEAD START TRAINEES AT
KANSAS STATE UNIVERSITY TRAINING SESSIONS, 1966

Independent Variables	Reference to Childhood		Reference to Present Personal Conditions		Chi Square
	Yes	No	Yes	No	
	N=19	N=23	N=8	N=34	
Race					
White	11	12	5	18	0.239
Non-white	8	11	3	16	(d.f. = 1)
Marital Status					
Single	6	9	1	14	2.320
Married	13	14	7	20	(d.f. = 1)
Education					
Less Than High School Diploma	3	5	2	6	
Less Than Two Years College	7	10	4	13	0.990
Two Years College or More	9	8	2	15	(d.f. = 2)
Occupation					
Not Employed	7	7	5	9	
Unskilled and Semi-skilled	6	11	3	14	5.132*
Skilled and Professional	6	5	0	11	(d.f. = 2)
Age					
19-25	5	9	3	11	
26-40	9	9	3	15	0.124
41 and Over	5	5	2	8	(d.f. = 2)

*Significant at .10 level

clothes were patched, but clean.

Mrs. J. was a white, married, 42-year-old trainee with less than two years of college and employed in a semi-skilled occupation. She said:

Growing up as a child I learned what low income was. When I was in grade school my father lost his job, no income from any source, my mother and father both were pretty upset. We had to turn to County Relief for awhile until my father found work. This was about a year.

Mrs. B., a 29-year-old, married, Negro with less than two years of college and employed in a professional occupation said:

From the time I was born, I was told times and conditions were very hard. My father was a cook. Being Negro, it didn't help. We traveled from place to place in order to survive.

Miss T., a single, 23-year-old Mexican-American, was a college student. She wrote in her essay:

Our family lived on the edge of the poverty area until I entered the fourth grade. We were forced to move because we began to raise hogs and other animals to help with our food supply and this was not allowed in the city limits. We moved to the country. In spite of our small farm and with twelve to fourteen persons living in a four-room house on less than \$5,000 a year, we still had problems.

Mrs. C., a white, married, 40-year-old trainee with one year of college and employed in a semi-skilled occupation described her childhood experiences with poverty as follows:

My own childhood by today's standards, was an experience in living in poverty - but it was not a damaging or unhappy experience. I can recall my parents concern as to how to pay for the next groceries, but we were never hungry. We wore shoes with holes in the soles for some time, but my mother remade all kinds of lovely little dresses from hand-me-downs for my sister and me.

Miss S., a trainee with two years of college, was white, single, 28 years old and employed in a professional occupation. She wrote:

...I have known times when it was necessary to sell the stove

and refrigerator to pay the utilities and keep food on the table.

Mrs. B., a 61-year-old, white, widow with two years of college was a public school teacher. Her description of childhood experiences with poverty follows.

I lived through the "Depression"...My father owned his own farm, but had sold it to a neighbor. The neighbor could not make the payments - and because of the moratorium, never did pay for it. My family suffered...My youngest sister earned 25 cents per week at a bakery and all the day old bread she wanted which was a godsend.

The above examples highlight the fact that a majority of the trainees who reported experiencing varying degrees of poverty during their childhood years had at least some post high school training. Only three of the nineteen trainees who made reference to poverty conditions in childhood did not complete high school. Apparently poverty during childhood was not a deterrent in obtaining at least a high school degree and additional training for most trainees. Also apparent was the fact that it was no more difficult to obtain post high school training during one time period than another. There was a feeling of strength in some examples while others simply dealt with the hardships.

Reference to Present Personal Conditions

Reference to present personal conditions of poverty by Head Start trainees in the essay "What I Know About Low Income Families" was significantly related to occupation at the .10 level, but was not significantly related to race, marital status, education or age. Eight (19 per cent) of the forty-two trainees made reference to present personal conditions of poverty and thirty-four made no reference to such conditions. Whether white or non-white, married or single,

highly or poorly educated, young or old, 25 per cent or less of the trainees in each category made reference to their present conditions of poverty. Present employment was related to whether or not the trainees referred to such conditions. None of the trainees employed in skilled or professional occupations made reference in the essay to their present personal conditions, while 38 per cent of the trainees not employed made such references (Table 4a).

From the data presented, it may be concluded that poverty was not a personal problem for the majority of the trainees. Of the eight who made reference to poverty in their present situations, seven were married (three were divorced and one separated) and had an average of five children. Six had less than two years of college. As expected, more non-employed trainees made references to present conditions of poverty.

Illustrations of references to present personal conditions of poverty include the following excerpts from the essay "What I Know About Low Income Families."

Mrs. W., a white, divorced, 23-year-old mother of three children with less than a high school diploma and employed in an unskilled occupation said:

I was married at the age of 16. I had three children in four years. Then we were divorced after five and a half years of marriage. My husband left before our divorce, and left us with \$.20 to live on.

I couldn't find work, but after eight months of being on welfare, I found a job. About a month later he started sending money.

Then another stroke of bad luck, I lost my job, my ex-husband stopped sending money, my kids needed things that I knew I couldn't get and I was behind on rent. Because of all this I worried a lot of the time. I hated myself for the way I acted toward my kids.

Mrs. L., a Negro, divorced, 36-year-old trainee with three children had a college degree and was a homemaker. She wrote:

...After getting married and starting a family at an early age, I really didn't apply my college experience like I wanted to. One of the reasons was no jobs available and my small children. After my husband and I divorced, I had to go to welfare for assistance. Then I heard about the OEO.

Mrs. T. was a married homemaker with nine children. She was white, 43 years old and had a seventh grade education. Her reference to present personal conditions of poverty was:

I have heard my children go to bed crying "I'm hungry," and cry myself to sleep. There is always that little prayer in the mothers heart, "Please God, give us strength."

The children wonder why others have better clothes, more food, especially the fresh fruits and more costly foods. They wonder why can't they have \$5.00 for insurance so they can play on "Little League Baseball."

These excerpts reveal that women who were heads of household and had several children expressed present concerns over poverty conditions. In summary, the majority of trainees made no reference to present personal conditions of poverty. Occupation type and reference to poverty in present personal conditions were significantly related at the .10 level. As expected, none of the trainees employed in skilled or professional occupations made reference to present conditions of poverty while 38 per cent of those not employed made reference to poverty in their present living conditions. One trainee devoted her entire essay to her present conditions of poverty.

Reference to Present or Past Personal Acquaintances

Reference to present or past personal acquaintances affected by poverty as revealed by the essay "What I Know About Low Income Families" was not significantly related to any of the independent

variables. Of the forty-two trainees who completed the essay, twenty-nine (69 per cent) made some reference to poverty among present or past acquaintances while thirteen (31 per cent) made no such reference.

In terms of race, 78 per cent of the white and 58 per cent of the non-white trainees made some reference to poverty among present or past personal acquaintances. On the basis of marital status, 80 per cent of the single trainees and 63 per cent of the married trainees made reference to present or past acquaintance's experiences with poverty. The education variable revealed that from 63 to 71 per cent of the trainees in each category made some reference to poverty among present or past acquaintances. Occupationally, 86 per cent of the trainees with no employment, 59 per cent of those employed in unskilled or semi-skilled occupations and 64 per cent of the trainees with skilled or professional jobs made some reference to present or past acquaintance's experiences with poverty. In the age category 86 per cent of the trainees ages 19 to 25 made reference to poverty experienced by acquaintances. Fifty-six per cent of those in the age 26 to 40 and 70 per cent of the trainees 41 years of age or older made reference to present or past acquaintance's experiences with poverty (Table 4b).

The majority of the Head Start trainees made some reference to the poverty experienced by present or past acquaintances. However, the data do not reflect the depth of references made, nor the closeness of acquaintance. Some trainees merely mentioned they had known families afflicted by poverty while others made quite lengthy explanations about their knowledge of the experiences present or past acquaintances had with poverty.

TABLE 4b
REFERENCE TO POVERTY EXPRESSED IN ESSAY WRITTEN BY HEAD START TRAINEES AT
KANSAS STATE UNIVERSITY TRAINING SESSIONS, 1966

Independent Variables	Reference to Present and Past Acquaintances		Chi Square	Reference to Unknown or Generalized Others		Chi Square
	Yes	No		Yes	No	
	N=29	N=13		N=28	N=14	
Race						
White	18	5	2.019	17	6	1.201
Non-white	11	8	(d.f. = 1)	11	8	(d.f. = 1)
Marital Status						
Single	12	3	1.310	9	6	0.467
Married	17	10	(d.f. = 1)	19	8	(d.f. = 1)
Education						
Less Than High School Diploma	5	3		6	2	
Less Than Two Years College	12	5	0.198	11	6	0.309
Two Years College or More	12	5	(d.f. = 2)	11	6	(d.f. = 2)
Occupation						
Not Employed	12	2		9	5	
Unskilled and Semi-skilled	10	7	2.082	12	5	0.199
Skilled and Professional	7	4	(d.f. = 2)	7	4	(d.f. = 2)
Age						
19-25	12	2		8	6	
26-40	10	8	3.357	12	6	1.371
41 and Over	7	3	(d.f. = 2)	8	2	(d.f. = 2)

Excerpts of references to poverty experiences of present or past acquaintances made by the trainees on the essays follow. They were selected because they reflected several frames of reference and revealed a variety of poverty conditions.

Miss W., a single, 23-year-old Negro trainee with some college training and employed as a Head Start teachers' aide wrote:

In my area most of the homes are 70 years old or more so you find middle-aged people who have their homes paid for and do not want to move, and income property or rentals and often we have neighbors moving in and out of these houses. There was a family which moved next door to us. The mother and three very small and cute boys. The mother worked and the big boy seemed to be the father, he took over the little ones. When the mother would leave, the big boy would come over and ask my mother if they could have some bread. Mother was quite shocked and put some jam on the bread and the little boy didn't seem to know what it was.

Mrs. E., a Negro, Married trainee was 40 years old, had less than a high school degree and was employed as a Head Start teachers' aide. She wrote:

At the center where I work, I have really come in contact with the poverty poor. There is one family in particular I have really gotten to know well. Even though these people don't have very many material things, the mother tries to keep what she has very neat. She has eight children and is expecting the ninth. The father does construction work and this is seasonal. I think they would live better if they knew how.

Mrs. T., a white, married, 43-year-old trainee with a seventh grade education was a homemaker. She described some people she knew.

I have been around the Cherokee Indians quite a bit and I have seen many children and adults with their feet wrapped in old cloth or burlap to keep them warm. Many of these children eat beans as a basic food for every meal. They exist mainly on foods that are in their growing season.

Recently we fitted a family in our community with clothes. One of the boys was wearing girls clothes because they couldn't afford to buy any for him.